

British Colonies vol 5.

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L O R D C L I V E's

S P E E C H.

30 March

1772.

LORD CLIVE'S



S. P. E. C. H.

1772



LORD CLIVE'S SPEECH in the HOUSE
of COMMONS, on the Motion made for *an*
Inquiry into the Nature, State, and Con-
dition, of the EAST INDIA COMPANY, and
of the BRITISH AFFAIRS in the EAST INDIES,
in the Fifth Session of the present Parliament.
1772.

IT is with great diffidence that I attempt to speak to this House, but I find myself so particularly called upon, that I must make the attempt, though I should expose myself in so doing. With what confidence can I venture to give my sentiments upon a subject of such national consequence, who myself stand charged with having been the cause of the present melancholy situation of the Company's affairs in BENGAL? This House can have no reliance on my opinion, whilst such an impression remains unremoved. The House will therefore give me leave to remove this impression, and to endeavor to restore myself to that favorable opinion, which, I flatter myself, they en-

tertain'd of my conduct, before these Charges were exhibited against me. Nor do I wish to lay my conduct before the Members of this House only;—I speak likewise to my Country in general, upon whom I put myself, not only without reluctance, but with alacrity.

It is well known that I was called upon, in the year 1764, by a General Court, to undertake the management of the Company's affairs in BENGAL, when they were in a very critical and dangerous situation. It is as well known, that my Circumstances were independent and affluent. Happy in the sense of my past conduct and services, happy in my family, happy in my connections, happy in every thing but my health, which I lost in the Company's service, never to be regained—this situation, this happiness, I relinquish'd at the call of the Company, to go to a far distant unhealthy climate, to undertake the envious task of Reformation.—My enemies will suppose, that I was actuated by mercenary motives. But this House, and my Country at large, will, I hope, think more liberally. They will conceive that I undertook this expedition from a principle of gratitude, from a point of honor, and from a desire of doing essential service to that Company, under whose auspices I acquired my fortune and my fame.

My Prospects on going abroad were by no means pleasing or encouraging; for after a violent contest, thirteen Directors only were chosen, who thought favorably of my endeavors to serve the Company; the other eleven, however well they might wish to the Company, were not willing
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that their good purposes should be accomplished by me. They first gave all possible obstruction to my acceptance of the Government, and afterwards declined investing me with those Powers, without which, I could not have acted, effectually, for the benefit of the Company. Upon my arrival in BENGAL, I found the Powers given were so loosely and jesuitically worded, that they were immediately contested by the Council. I was determined, however, to put the most extensive construction upon them, because I was determined to do my duty to my Country.

THREE Paths were before me. One was strewed with abundance of fair advantages. I might have put myself at the head of the Government as I found it. I might have encouraged the Resolution which the Gentlemen had taken, not to execute the new Covenants, which prohibited the receipt of Presents: and although I had executed the Covenants myself, I might have contrived to return to ENGLAND, with an immense fortune, infamously added to the one before honourably obtained. Such an increase of wealth might have added to my weight in this Country, but it would not have added to my peace of mind; because all men of honor and sentiment would have justly condemned me.

FINDING my Powers thus disputed, I might in despair have given up the common wealth, and have left BENGAL without making an effort to save it.—Such a Conduct would have been deemed the effect of Folly and Cowardice.

THE third Path was intricate. Dangers and difficulties were on every side. But I resolved to pursue it. In short, I was determined to do my duty to the Public, although I should incur the odium of the whole Settlement. The welfare of the Company required a vigorous exertion, and I took the resolution of cleansing the Augean Stable.

It was that Conduct which has occasioned the public papers to teem with scurrility and abuse against me, ever since my return to ENGLAND. It was that Conduct which occasioned these Charges. But it was that Conduct which enables me now, when the day of Judgment is come, to look my Judges in the Face.—It was that Conduct which enables me now, to lay my hand upon my heart, and most solemnly to declare to this House, to the Gallery, and to the whole World at large, that I never, in a single Instance, lost sight of what I thought the Honor and true Interest of my Country and the Company; that I was never guilty of any acts of violence or oppression, unless the bringing offenders to Justice can be deemed so; that as to extortion, such an Idea never entered into my mind; that I did not suffer those under me to commit acts of violence, oppression, or extortion; that my influence was never employed for the advantage of any man, contrary to the strictest principles of Honor and Justice; and that so far from reaping any benefit myself from the expedition, I returned to ENGLAND many thousand pounds out of pocket.—A Fact of which this House will presently be convinced.

THE House will, I hope, permit me to lay before them, a State of the Charges I have alluded to, as well as of the Manner in which they were conveyed to me.

THE first public Intimation I had of them, was by the following Letter, from the Company's Secretary.

MY LORD,

“THE Court of Directors of the EAST INDIA COMPANY, having lately received several Papers, containing Charges respecting the Management of the Company's Affairs in BENGAL, wherein your Lordship is made a Party, I am commanded to send to you the enclosed Copies thereof, and at the same Time to acquaint your Lordship, that if you have any Observations to make thereon, the Court of Directors will be glad to receive them as expeditiously as may be convenient to your Lordship.”

I am, with great Respect,

My LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

EAST INDIA HOUSE,

7th JAN. 1772.

The Right Hon. Lord CLIVE.

Most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

P. MICHELL, SECRETARY.

My Reply, was to the Court of Directors as follows.

GENTLEMEN,

GENTLEMEN,

“ I HAVE received a Letter from your Secretary, inclosing
 “ Copies of several Papers, which he informs me were lately
 “ received by you, containing Charges respecting the Manage-
 “ ment of the Company’s Affairs in BENGAL, wherein I am
 “ made a Party; and at the same time acquainting me, that
 “ if I have any Observations to make thereon, you will be glad
 “ to receive them as expeditiously as may be convenient to me.

“ You have not been pleased to inform me, from whom
 “ you received those Papers; to what End they were laid
 “ before you; what Resolution you have come to con-
 “ cerning them; nor for what Purpose you expect my Obser-
 “ vations upon them.

“ I shall, however, observe to you, that upon the pub-
 “ lic Records of the Company, where the whole of my
 “ Conduct is stated, you may find a sufficient Confutation of
 “ the Charges which you have transmitted to me: and I
 “ cannot but suppose, that if any Part of my Conduct had
 “ been injurious to the Service, contradictory to my En-
 “ gagements with the Company, or even mysterious to you;
 “ four years and an half, since my arrival in ENGLAND,
 “ would not have elapsed, before your Duty would have
 “ impelled you to call me to Account.” I am,

GENTLEMEN,

*To the Hon. the Court
 of Directors.*

Your most obed^t. Serv^t.

CLIVE.

THE

THE Charges I shall briefly state in the following order.

FIRST, A Monopoly of Cotton. — Trade was not my profession. My line has been military and political. I owe all I have in the world, to my having been at the head of an army: and as to Cotton, — I know no more about it than the Pope of ROME.

THE second Charge against me is a Monopoly of Diamonds. And this also I shall get rid of in a few words. — There are only two channels by which a servant of the Company, can, with propriety, remit his fortune. The one, by paying the money into the treasury in INDIA, and receiving bills upon the Company, payable in ENGLAND; the other by Diamonds.

By the acquisition of the DUANNEE, and the successful endeavors of the Select Committee, the Company's treasury was so rich, that we could not have been justified in drawing bills upon the Company. It was necessary I should, in some mode, remit the amount of my Jaghire. For this purpose, and for this only, I sent an agent into a distant and independent Country to make purchases of Diamonds. Those Diamonds were not sent home clandestinely; I caused them to be registered; I paid the duties upon them, and these remittances, upon the whole, turn out three per Cent. worse than bills of exchange upon the Company. — This is all I know of a Monopoly of Diamonds.

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THE third Charge is, Frauds in the Exchange and in the Gold Coinage.—This is a subject very much out of my sphere. I am totally unacquainted with the proportions of alloy, and the mixture of metals. All I can speak to is the principle upon which we formed the plan of a Gold Coinage.

Every body knows, that Silver is the only current Coin in BENGAL, and that Gold is merely a species of merchandize. The Select Committee, apprehensive that the prodigious annual drains of Silver to CHINA and other places, would soon occasion a scarcity of that metal in BENGAL, considered of means to obviate the bad effect of those exports. We knew that there must be great quantities of Gold in the country, and we hoped to make it circulate in Coin.—Hence the establishment of the Gold Currency. Whether it answered our purpose or not, I cannot say, as I did not remain in BENGAL long enough to experience the effect of it. But this I know, that the assay and mint master, by whose judgment we were guided, was a very able and a very honest man; and has, I understand, given a full and satisfactory explanation of his plan to the Court of Directors. With regard to myself, I shall only assert, that I did not receive a farthing advantage from it, and that I never sent a single Rupee or Gold Mohur to be coined in my life.

THE fourth Charge has this extraordinary title.—A Monopoly of Salt, Betle Nut and Tobacco, and other commodities, which occasioned the late famine.—How a Monopoly
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of *Salt, Betle Nut, and Tobacco*, in the years 1765 and 1766, could occasion a want of *Rain*, and scarcity of *Rice* in the year 1770, is past my comprehension. I confess I cannot answer that part of this article. And as to *other Commodities*, as they have not been specified, I cannot say any thing to them. — But with regard to the Monopoly (as it is called) of *Salt, Betle Nut, and Tobacco*, I will endeavor to explain the whole of that matter: and the House will permit me to dwell the longer upon it, as it is a point particularly insisted on by my adversaries. It is a part of my conduct that may be objected to by those who are unacquainted with the subject. I know it has been misunderstood and misrepresented, even by some of my friends. They have imputed it to an error of judgment. Now however ready I shall always be to acknowledge such an error, yet I hope to convince this House, that no part of my conduct has been more unexceptionable, and that the plan, if it had been adopted by the Court of Directors, and strictly adhered to by the Government in BENGAL, would have proved not only advantageous to the Company, but also beneficial to the Country: but the Court of Directors, alarmed at the word Monopoly, seem never to have examined, and I am sure, never thoroughly comprehended, the principles and effect of it.

MANY years ago an expensive embassy was sent to DELHI, to obtain certain grants and privileges from the GREAT MOGUL, in favor of the EAST INDIA COMPANY, and amongst others was obtained the privilege of trading Duty free. The servants were indulged with this privilege, under the sanction

of the Company's Name. — The Company never carried on any Inland Trade. Their Commerce has been confined to *Exports and Imports only*. It is impossible that the servants should have a more extensive right, than the Company itself ever had. Yet they claimed a privilege of carrying on an *Inland Trade*, Duty free. — The absurdity of a privilege so ruinous to the natives, and so prejudicial to the revenues of the country, is obvious. At the Revolution in 1757 no such claim was set up, nor was any such Trade carried on publicly, or to my knowledge, during my government, which ended in the beginning of the year 1760.

THE first appearance of this claim was in Governor VANSITTART's time. — The Nabob COSSIM ALY CAWN strongly objected to it: representing to the Governor and Council, the fatal Consequences to the Black Merchants and to the Revenues of his Country. Mr. VANSITTART was sensible of the justice of the Nabob's Complaints, and soon after entered into articles of agreement, that the ENGLISH should carry on an Inland Trade in *Salt*, paying a Duty of nine *per Cent*. which in fact was no remedy to the evil, because the natives paid infinitely more. The Council disavowed this act of Mr. VANSITTART, and insisted upon their right to all Inland Trade, Duty free. — The Nabob, enraged, threw open the Trade throughout his country, and abolished all Duties, in order that his own subjects might trade upon an equal footing with the ENGLISH. This on the other hand disobliged the Council, who insisted that the Nabob should not suffer even his own subjects to trade Duty free, but that the ENGLISH alone should enjoy that privilege. These transactions were not clearly known

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to the Court of Directors 'till the year 1762; when they disapproved of them in the strongest terms, positively forbidding their servants to carry on any Inland Trade whatsoever. It was nevertheless continued, and with exemption from Duties, except in the article of *Salt*: upon which a Duty of two and a half *per Cent.* only was agreed to be paid, by a treaty with the Nabob MEER JAFFIER, after the deposition of COSSIM ALY CAWN.

ALTHOUGH the Court of Directors had been of opinion, that the Inland Trade ought to be totally abolished; they, as well as the Proprietors, thought the Company's servants might be indulged in it, under certain restrictions and regulations. In consequence of this idea, the General Court, on the 18th of May, 1764, came to the following resolution.

“ RESOLVED, That it be recommended to the Court of
 “ Directors, to re-consider the orders sent to BENGAL, rela-
 “ tive to the Trade of the Company's servants, in the articles
 “ of *Salt, Betle Nut* and *Tobacco*; and that they do give such
 “ directions for regulating the same, agreeably to the interest
 “ of the Company and Subah, as to them may appear most
 “ prudent: either by settling here at home the restrictions
 “ under which this Trade ought to be carried on, or by re-
 “ ferring it to the Governor and Council of FORT WILLIAM
 “ to regulate this important point, in such a manner as may
 “ prevent all future disputes betwixt the Subah and the
 “ Company.”

“ THIS

THIS Resolution was supported by the Court of Directors, who in their general letter to the Governor and Council, dated 1st of June, 1764, at the time I went out to INDIA, issued the following Orders.

Par. 54. " FOR the reasons given in our letter of the 8th of February last, we were then induced to send positive orders to put a final and effectual end to the Inland Trade in *Salt, Betle Nut, and Tobacco*, and all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country: to the remarks we made in that letter we must add one observation, which is, it appears very extraordinary, that in a Trade so extremely lucrative to individuals, the interest of the Company should not have been at all attended to or considered."

55. " THOSE orders were sent, it is true, before we received the new treaty you entered into with MEER JAFFIER ALY CAWN, upon his re-establishment in the Subahship; in which it is agreed, that the ENGLISH shall carry on their Trade, by means of their own Duffick, free from all Duties, Taxes and Impositions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of *Salt*; on which a Duty of two and a half *per Cent.* is to be levied on the Rowanno or Houghly Market Price; wherein it is further agreed, that the late Perwannahs issued by COSSIM ALY CAWN, granting to all merchants the exemption of all Duties, for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, and the Duties collected as before.

56. " THESE

56. “ THESE are terms which appear to be so very injurious
 “ to the Nabob and to the Natives, that they cannot, in
 “ the very nature of them, tend to any thing but the pro-
 “ ducing general heart-burnings and dissatisfaction; and con-
 “ sequently there can be little reason to expect, the tranqui-
 “ lity of the country can be permanent: the orders therefore,
 “ in our said letter of the 8th of February, are to re-
 “ main in force, *until a more equitable and satisfactory Plan*
 “ *can be formed and adopted*, which, as it is impossible for
 “ us to frame here, destitute as we are of the information
 “ and lights necessary to guide us in settling such an im-
 “ portant affair —

57. “ You are therefore hereby ordered and directed, as
 “ soon after the receipt of this as may be convenient, to consult
 “ the Nabob as to the manner of carrying on the Inland
 “ Trade in Salt, Betle Nut and Tobacco, and the other
 “ articles produced and consumed in the country, which may
 “ be most to his satisfaction and advantage, *the interest of*
 “ *the Company, and likewise of the Company's servants.*

58. “ You are thereupon to form a proper and equitable
 “ Plan, for carrying on the said Trade, and transmit the same
 “ to us, accompanied by such explanations, observations, and
 “ remarks, as may enable us to give our sentiments and
 “ directions thereupon in a full and explicit manner.

59. “ IN doing this, as before observed, you are to have
 “ a particular regard to the interest and entire satisfaction of
 “ the

“ the Nabob, both with respect to his revenues, and the
 “ proper support of his government : in short, this Plan must
 “ be settled with his free will and consent, and in such a
 “ manner as not to afford any just grounds for complaint.”

60. “ In the next place, the utmost care and attention must
 “ be bestowed in forming the said Plan, that in some proper
 “ mode or shape, *a just and equitable consideration be secured for*
 “ *the Company.*”

61. “ If any inconveniencies shall be apprehended to arise
 “ to the Company’s investments, upon carrying on such an
 “ Inland Trade; you are to give us your full thoughts there-
 “ upon, and in what manner they may be obviated.”

62. “ You are to give your impartial and unbiassed thoughts
 “ also, whether the carrying on this Inland Trade may affect
 “ the just rights and privileges of the FRENCH, DUTCH, or
 “ any other EUROPEANS; and thereby tend to draw on any
 “ national altercations and embroils, which are by all means
 “ to be avoided: in forming the said Plan, therefore, you
 “ are to be particularly careful to prevent these or any other
 “ evils of the like kind.”

NOTWITHSTANDING these authorities, it has been asserted,
 that the Select Committee in BENGAL, when they framed
 a Plan for carrying on the Trade in Salt, Betle Nut and
 Tobacco, acted in disobedience to the orders of the Com-
 pany. And to support this assertion, partial extracts have
 been produced of some of the Company’s letters, which were
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in fact written in answer to those proceedings of former administrations in BENGAL, of which I have already given some description.

WHEN the Select Committee assembled in BENGAL, they were determined upon a thorough reformation. They were determined at all events to do their duty.

It is necessary the House should know, that there are but two ways by which Gentlemen can acquire fortunes in BENGAL—by the Inland Trade and by Presents. The export and import Trade had been for some years dwindling away, and was not worth the attention of the servants. It was carried on chiefly by free merchants and free mariners: and they could scarcely live by it. The Inland Trade was, as I have shewn, permitted to be carried on upon some equitable Plan, for the benefit of the Company, who had hitherto received no advantage from it; and likewise for the benefit of the Company's servants, who hitherto had swallowed up the whole.

WITH regard to the receipt of Presents; that mode of raising a fortune was intended to be prevented by the new Covenants. But we must consider a little the nature of the funds for Presents. Every revolution in BENGAL, was attended with some diminution of the Nabob's authority, and with some advantages to the Company. COSSIM ALY CAWN, upon the deposition of MEER JAFFIER, was obliged to make over to the Company, territorial possessions to the amount of between six and seven hundred thousand pounds *per annum*.

MEER JAFFIER, when he was reinstated in the Subahship, added above sixty thousand pounds a month more; for the support of our army during the war: so that the Company became possessed of one half of the Nabob's revenues. The Nabob was allowed to collect the other half for himself. But in fact, he was no more than a Banker for the Company's servants; who could draw upon him as often, and to what amount they pleased.

THE new Covenants indeed, which prohibited the receipt of Presents, were intended to prevent this mode of raising Fortunes; but the Select Committee went much deeper: they struck at the root of the evil, by procuring the whole for the Company; which totally deprived the servants of this resource.

It was not expedient however, to draw the reins too tight. It was not expedient, that the Company's servants should pass from affluence to beggary. It was necessary, that some emoluments should accrue to the servants in general, and more especially to those in superior station, who were to assist in carrying on the measures of Government. The salary of a Counsellor, is I think, scarcely three hundred pounds *per annum*: and it is well known that he cannot live in that Country for less than three thousand pounds. The same proportion holds among the other servants. It was requisite therefore, that an Establishment should take place: and the Select Committee after the most mature deliberation, judged, that the Trade in Salt, Betle-nut and Tobacco, under proper regulations, might effectually answer the Purpose. The great
object

object of our consideration was, whether this Trade could be regulated for the advantage of the Company, and also for the Company's servants; without oppressing the Natives. We thought it could. The House will observe, that I make no mention of the Nabob; because the Company to whom the Revenues now belonged, stood in his shoes; a circumstance which seems never to have been thoroughly adverted to by the Directors, even to this day.

HAD we only formed our Plan and deferred the execution of it, till the pleasure of the Court of Directors should be known, all the Gentlemen in their service, must in the mean time have been totally unprovided for. But the declared intention of the Company was, that the Trade in Salt, Betlenut and Tobacco, should be regulated; not only for their own advantage, but for the advantage of their servants. A Plan was accordingly framed. I was up the Country at the time, employed in settling the treaty of Peace with SUJA UL DOWLA, and obtaining from the MOGUL, the grant of the DUANNEE. The Plan was framed principally by Mr. SUMNER: who took the medium price of Salt, throughout the Country, for above twenty years past; and fixed the price at, from twelve to fifteen *per Cent*, below that medium. Hence it was not probable, that any grievance should fall upon the Poor: and the Plan was settled for one year only, that we might have an early opportunity of completing afterwards, what was originally intended as an experiment. A duty however, of thirty five *per Cent*, upon Salt was established for the Company, which amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds *per Annum*: and all the Company's servants

except writers, and also all the field officers of the army, had shares, according to their respective ranks. But I soon found there were some defects in this plan. It was really a Monopoly. The Trade was taken out of the hands of some of the merchants. The proportion to the Company's servants was too large; the Duty to the Company was too small; the Agents appointed to sell the Salt had made an improper use of their power; they had not strictly kept up to their contract, which was, that they should receive five *per Cent.* upon the sale of Salt, as a recompence for their trouble, and that they should not enter into any trade for themselves under a very severe penalty.

I therefore proposed a Plan for the next year, which I think destroyed every idea of Monopoly. The Society, instead of employing agents up the country to dispose of the Salt, were to sell it at CALCUTTA, and at the places where it was made; to the Black Merchants only: who were each limited to a certain quantity of purchase, and tied down to a price for sale at every Market Town. The Duty to the Company was now established at fifty *per Cent.* which would produce one hundred and sixty thousand pounds *per Annum*; the Black Merchants were to have the liberty of transporting the Salt all over the country, free from every taxation or obstruction; and the strictest orders were issued, that no Englishmen or their agents, should directly or indirectly have any further concern in it.

WITH regard to the price, I must inform the House, that in BENGAL Salt stands the maker in about two shillings and six-pence

fix-pence *per* Maund, by the time it reaches CALCUTTA. A Maund is eighty pounds. The Duty to the Company, and the advantages to the servants, were stated at about two shillings and six-pence more, which makes upon the whole one hundred *per Cent*. Salt in ENGLAND, I am told, stands the maker in about eight-pence *per* Bushel, or fifty-six pounds: and the Duty is three shillings and four-pence *per* Bushel, which is five hundred *per Cent*. I have inquired into the Salt Trade in ENGLAND. I think we settled it upon rather a better footing in INDIA: for the quantity to be bought by any one dealer was fixed; and the price at which it was to be sold in every town throughout the kingdom, according to the distance from the Salt Pans, was also fixed.

IN LONDON Salt is sold at five shillings a Bushel: which is somewhat less than a penny a pound. In INDIA Salt is sold by the Maund, which is, as I have said, eighty pounds: and it comes to a Rupee, or two shillings and six-pence a Maund, all expences paid exclusive of the Duty. The Duty as I informed the House, is two shillings and six-pence more.

Now I will suppose that Salt, in BENGAL, sold under the second year's plan, at the very price fixed by the first year's Plan: then it would stand the consumer in about three farthings a pound at CALCUTTA; a penny a pound at distant places; and five farthings a pound at PATNA, which is one of the most distant parts, being about twelve hundred miles by water from CALCUTTA.

THE whole quantity of Salt contracted for by the Society, was twenty-four lacks of Maunds: which multiplied by eighty for the number of pounds in a Maund, make one hundred and ninety-two millions of pounds. The number of inhabitants I shall take upon the honourable Member's* computation, that is to say, fifteen millions. I strike off five millions for infants and accidents. Then divide the one hundred and ninety-two millions of pounds by the other ten millions of inhabitants, and we shall find the quantity of Salt consumed in one year, by the rich and by the poor, will be under twenty pounds each. To give the argument its utmost scope, I allow twenty pounds to the poor as well as to the rich man; although it is certain he does not consume half the quantity. This twenty pounds will cost the individual at CALCUTTA rather less than fifteen-pence; in the center of the Provinces twenty-pence; and at PATNA, the greatest distance, rather less than two shillings and six-pence. This is the utmost of every man's expence in a year for Salt.

THE lowest wages in BENGAL are two Rupees a month, which is twenty-four Rupees, or three pounds *per Annum*. The poor can scarcely be said to be at any other expence than for eating. They drink nothing but water; they wear no cloaths; their houses are built with mud or clay, thatched with straw. Now I leave the House to judge, whether the expence of from fifteen-pence to two shillings and six-pence a year for twenty pounds of Salt, even to these the very poorest

* MR. SULLIVAN.

poorest of the inhabitants can be a grievance. The eyes of the world have been blinded by publications. The matter of fact is this: the grievance fell upon a number of Black Merchants, who used to live by that Trade: for the Company's servants not only monopolized the Salt; but by virtue of their influence and power bought it at what price they pleased, and sold it at what price they pleased.

To indulge my enemies to the utmost; I will allow for a moment, although it is not so, that in the intermediate time, between the farming of the Salt Trade by a Muffulman (for it was always a Monopoly in the hands of COJA WAZEED or some person or persons who paid large sums of money to the Nabob or his ministers for the exclusive privilege) and the regulations established by the Select Committee, Salt was sold somewhat cheaper. What does that infer? It infers only this, that the Company's servants, by virtue of their power and authority, exonerated the Salt of all these Duties and Exactions, which it was formerly subject to, amounting perhaps to two hundred *per Cent.* and then made a merit of selling it cheaper to the inhabitants: as if a set of men in this country, by their power and influence were to decline paying the duty of five hundred *per Cent.* to Government, and then boast of selling it at a lower price than had been usual. In fact, when the Salt was what has been called an open Trade, it was then the most monopolized: because the Company's servants traded in it to what extent and advantage they thought proper; as indeed they did in every other article of Inland Trade.

In short, the Select Committee established their Plan upon experience and a thorough knowledge of the Company's interest: and the conduct of the Court of Directors in abolishing it was founded upon obstinacy and ignorance.

A short history of the conduct of these Gentlemen, will set the matter in its proper light.

I have said before, that the Directors disapproved of the Trade in Salt, Betle-nut, and Tobacco, carried on by the servants, from the first moment that they became acquainted with it. They positively and repeatedly ordered, that they should have no concern in it, directly or indirectly; they declared that it was an infringement of the rights of the natives; that they had consulted the Sages in the law, and that the servants were liable to prosecution for persevering in that illicit Trade. After this, they agreed that the Select Committee should regulate this Trade, in such a manner as might be advantageous to the Company and their servants, without injury to the Nabob. The Committee did regulate it: a very large profit was established for the Company: the servants also, were amply provided for: and no oppression (under the Committee's regulation) could possibly fall upon the people of the country. The Court of Directors disapproved of our Plan, and did not substitute any other in the room of it: neither did they establish any Duties. They issued orders, that their servants who acted as Sovereigns, should totally relinquish this Trade themselves, and endeavour to prevent its being monopolized by any rich overgrown merchant

merchant of the country; they meant that it should be laid open to the natives and them only, not seeing that their orders could not extend to the servants of foreign Companies, who would of course gain considerably by that Trade, of which the ENGLISH were to be deprived.

IN November 1767, and not before, the Court of Directors came to a Determination of allowing their servants in lieu of this Trade, two and a half *per Cent.* upon the Revenues; they then also, for the first Time, thought of establishing a Duty upon Salt; they proposed fixing it so, as that it should produce to the Company thirty-one thousand pounds *per Annum.* At this time I was in ENGLAND. I heard accidentally what was in agitation. I expostulated with the Court of Directors by letter; I represented to them that they were doing the most manifest injury to the Company; that if those advantages which the Select Committee had proposed for the servants were disapproved of, they ought to be enjoyed by the Company; that those advantages and the Duties together would amount to three hundred thousand pounds *per Annum*, which I thought no inconsiderable object. I farther represented to them, that although they should give the servants two and a half *per Cent.* on the Revenues, in lieu of the Salt Trade, the Gentlemen might still trade in that article, under the names of their Banyans or Black Agents, to what extent they pleased. To these representations they paid no other attention than that of altering the proposed Duty from thirty-one thousand pounds to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds *per Annum.* What was the consequence? The servants received the two and a half *per Cent.*

on the Revenues; they traded in Salt as much as ever, but without paying the Duty; and I am well informed that the Company from the time of the abolition of the Committee's Plan to this hour, have not received a shilling Duty. Finally, the Court of Directors suffered this Branch of Trade to revert to the very channel from whence had flowed all those abuses and all those misfortunes which they had so loudly complained of. This Trade, contrary to their own ideas of equity to the natives, and contrary to the advice of the Sages of the law, is now laid open to the ENGLISH, and to every EUROPEAN, as well as native inhabitant of BENGAL, BAHAR and ORISSA. The consequences of this we are still to learn. As the case stands at present, the Court of Directors have, in all this time (five years) given up no less than one million five hundred thousand pounds, which the Company ought to have received, if the emoluments taken from the servants had been added to the Duty proposed by the Select Committee. And in this sum is not included the two and a half *per Cent.* commission granted out of the revenues. Having thus stated every thing material, relative to this matter, I submit to the consideration of the House, whether the Plan adopted by the Committee, was for the benefit of the Company or not. The House will observe, that I have spoken of the Salt Trade only, I omit mentioning the Betle Nut and Tobacco Trade; because the former is not an advantageous article, in comparison with the Salt Trade: and the latter, although a part of the Plan of the Committee, was totally relinquished.

THE

THE Governor and Council are accused of having entered into a Combination, by Bond, to support the Society in spite of any orders from home. Mr. BOLTS in his book, has given a copy of the Bond. The substance of the Bond was stated in the public proceedings of the Board sent to ENGLAND for the information of the Directors, and we applied to them for permission to renew the Bond annually, if the Plan of the Salt Trade met with their approbation. In that Bond the Committee of Trade made themselves responsible for the Duties. The Contracts for the making of Salt ran for a year. The Society therefore could not be abolished before the end of the year, which was the first of September; and nothing more seems necessary to prove we had no idea of contesting any orders from home, but that on the contrary we resolved to obey, than to read to the House the following resolution of the Select Committee.

“ RESOLVED, That the Society of Trade shall be abolished, and the Inland Trade totally relinquished on the first Day of September next, but that we fully express our sentiments in our next advices to the Company, respecting the advantages which would result to the service and to the country, from the continuance of this Trade under the present restrictions.”

THIS Resolution also confutes a particular accusation against myself; for the Gentleman who laid the Charges before the Court of Directors has roundly asserted, that although the

Company disapproved of the Plan of the Society, no order was issued during my Government, for abolishing it.

I MUST in this place beg leave to inform the House, that I, as Governor, had a proportion of advantage in this Trade. What that proportion was, and in what manner I disposed of it, shall be clearly and accurately stated before I sit down.

I SHALL now proceed to the next Charge against me, which is Peculation of Revenues. And here I must have recourse to a Minute of mine, which stands recorded in the INDIA HOUSE, because I think it will explain this matter much more fully than I can do by word of mouth, and the House will see in that Minute, the ground work of part of the Bill proposed to be brought in for the Regulation of the Company's Affairs abroad.

Lord Clive's Minute.

“ OUR attention as a Select Committee, invested with extraordinary powers by the Court of Directors, has been constantly engaged in reforming the abuses which had crept into the several departments of this Government. The important work has been steadily prosecuted, with zeal, diligence, and disinterestedness on our parts; and the success of our labor gives us reason to hope, that our Employers will be of opinion we have established many useful and necessary regulations. Many others however are still wanting

“ wanting, to complete our Plan : but I doubt not that the
 “ same principles which have hitherto guided our conduct,
 “ will continue to direct and justify the measures we have
 “ yet to pursue.

“ To place the President in such a situation, as will ren-
 “ der his Government honorable to himself and advantageous
 “ to the Company, appears to me an object, of as much
 “ consequence as any that has been taken into our consider-
 “ ation. Where such immense Revenues are concerned, where
 “ power and authority are so enlarged, and where the eye
 “ of justice and equity should be ever watchful, a Governor
 “ ought not to be embarrassed with private business ; he
 “ ought to be free from every occupation, in which his judg-
 “ ment can possibly be biased by his interest. The extensive
 “ commercial affairs, the study of the finances, the politics
 “ of the country, the epistolary correspondence, the proceed-
 “ ings of Council and Committee ; these are sufficient to
 “ employ every moment of his time, and I am confident
 “ they cannot be conducted with the requisite attention to
 “ the Company’s interest, if the mind of the Governor be
 “ diverted by complicated mercantile affairs of his own.

“ IF we look back on those unhappy dissensions which
 “ have frequently brought the Company’s possessions in BEN-
 “ GAL almost to the point of destruction, we shall find that
 “ they have generally proceeded from the conduct of Go-
 “ vernors ; who, too eager in the pursuit of private interest,
 “ have involved themselves in affairs, which could not be
 “ reconciled to the strict principles of integrity. To prevent
 “ scrutinies

“ scrutinies and discoveries, which might in any degree affect
 “ their honor, they have frequently been reduced to the
 “ necessity of conniving at abuses, which would otherwise
 “ have been brought to light and remedied. The welfare of
 “ this great Company should be the sole study of a Gover-
 “ nor: attached to that point alone, his measures could never
 “ be thwarted by the malice of opposition, because they
 “ would all be proposed for the public good; and actions
 “ will always be justified or condemned, from the principles
 “ on which they are founded.

“ Such a state of independency and honor must be highly
 “ eligible to a Governor: and in my opinion it can only be ac-
 “ quired by cutting off all possibility of his benefiting himself
 “ either by Trade, or by that Influence which his power
 “ necessarily gives him in these opulent provinces.

“ I therefore propose, that the Governor shall in the most
 “ public manner, in the presence of all the Company’s ser-
 “ vants, the Mayor and Aldermen, and Free Merchants, as-
 “ sembled at the Mayor’s Court, take the Oath and execute
 “ the Penalty Bond annexed.

“ THE consideration I have proposed is, one and one-eighth
 “ *per Cent.* upon the Revenues; excepting those arising from
 “ the Company’s own lands at CALCUTTA, BURDWAN, MID-
 “ NAPORE and CHITTAGONG.

“ ALTHOUGH by these means a Governor will not be able
 “ to amass a fortune of a million, or half a million, in the
 space

“ space of two or three years, yet he will acquire a very
 “ handsome independency, and be in that very situation which
 “ a man of nice honor and true zeal for the service would
 “ wish to possess. Thus situated he may defy all opposition
 “ in Council: he will have nothing to ask, nothing to
 “ propose, but what he means for the advantage of his
 “ employers; he may defy the law, because there can be
 “ no foundation for a bill of discovery; and he may defy
 “ the obloquy of the world, because there can be nothing
 “ censurable in his conduct. In short, if stability can be
 “ insured to such a Government as this, where riches have
 “ been acquired in abundance, in a small space of time, by
 “ all ways, and means, and by men with or without capa-
 “ cities; it must be effected by a Governor thus restricted,
 “ and I shall think it an honor if my Proposal be approved
 “ to set the first example.”

IN the Bond herein mentioned, and which I executed, was
 inserted a penalty of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds:
 fifty thousand of which was to go to the Informer, and one
 hundred thousand to the Company, if the Governor should
 be convicted, of having benefited himself, directly or indi-
 rectly beyond that commission. In addition to this was an
 Oath to the same purport, and of as solemn a nature as could
 be devised. There were a few necessary exceptions in the
 Bond and in the Oath. The common Interest for money was
 permitted to be received, till Remittances could be obtained.
 The purchase of Diamonds for remittance to ENGLAND was
 allowed, and such Presents as might be received under the

new Covenants were also allowed. But of this last exception I did not avail myself; for after I had executed the Bond, every the most trifling Present, even to the value of six-pence was brought to the Company's credit.

A Circumstance of Allegation against me, is brought from a Letter I wrote to the Court of Directors, before I went abroad; in which I had expressed my disapprobation of the Commission of two and a half *per Cent.* that had been granted to Governor VANSITTART, on the Company's territorial Possessions, notwithstanding which, I had received a Commission of one and one eighth myself. The case was this.—The Court of Directors did not think proper to restrain Mr. VANSITTART in any respect, or degree. He executed no Penalty Bond. He took no restrictive Oath. He had unlimited liberty to receive Presents; to trade to any amount; and he had this Commission of two and a half *per Cent.* on the Company's territorial Possessions into the bargain: in short, he was at liberty to make what Fortune he pleased. Now the Commission of one and one eighth *per Cent.* which I received, was an Establishment proposed not only for myself, but for all future Governors in lieu of every thing: in consequence of giving up every emolument whatsoever that might be made in that station. The Court of Directors so far from disapproving of this Commission, continued it to my successor.

ANOTHER Charge is, that I took to myself these advantages arising from the Salt Trade, and the one and one eighth Commission, although I had declared in the Letter which I have just alluded to, that I had no interested motives in accepting

cepting the Government. With what justice this can be alledged against me, the House may immediately determine.

I carried out three Gentlemen with me. These Gentlemen I certainly meant to serve, but I meant to serve them in a way that should be honourable for themselves, and honourable for me; and that should at the same time be consistent with the interest of the Company. One was Mr. MASKELYNE, a relation of mine. A friendship commenced between us in our early years. We began life together. We were both of us writers in the Company's service in the year 1745; we were both made prisoners in MADRASS when it was taken by Monsieur LA BOURDENAI; we made our escape together; we then entered into the military service together as ensigns; we served together at the siege of PONDICHERRY; we went into the field together; but our fates were very different; he was a second time taken prisoner; this misfortune put a stop to all his prospects, whilst I went on in a career of success. He continued in the civil and military service till he was of the rank of Council, and after fifteen years service in INDIA, was obliged by ill health to return to his native country, not worth three thousand pounds in the world. I thought him intitled to some share of my affluence, but what I did for him was not sufficient to make his circumstances perfectly independent: for these reasons I took him with me on my last expedition. Another Gentleman was my secretary, now a Member of this House. He was recommended to me by one of the greatest men in this kingdom, now no more, Mr. GRENVILLE. Many and great are the obligations I have been under to him, but the greatest of all

the obligations was, his having recommended to me this Gentleman: without his abilities and indefatigable industry, I could never have gone through my great and arduous undertaking, and in serving me he served the Company. The third Gentleman was Mr. INGHAM, a Surgeon, who quitted a profession of some hundreds a year, to accompany me to BENGAL.

I stood in a particular point of view; my situation was nice and critical; the eyes of the whole settlement were upon me. It was difficult for me to take any steps with regard to those Gentlemen without being condemned. They had executed no Covenants; I might have suffered them to receive Presents to any amount: the world would then have said, that I carried them out with me in order to evade my own Covenants, and to receive Presents for me, as well as for themselves. I might have granted them the privilege of Trade; the advantages of which under my favor and credit, might have been to any amount. The objection to this also was obvious: it would have been said that my own interest was at the bottom; that they traded under my influence; and that the extent of their concerns interfered with persons who had a better right. It was therefore determined that they should not benefit themselves a farthing, but by what they should receive from my hands.

My share, as Governor, in the Salt Society, and also the manner in which it was disposed of, were publicly known both here and abroad before my return to ENGLAND; and yet this matter has of late been considered as something clandestine.

destine. But I think I can prove to the satisfaction of this House that it was known to every body.

In the beginning of the year 1767, a General Court was called, for the purpose of rewarding my services. A continuation of ten years of the Jaghire was proposed. In opposition to this some people urged, that I was benefiting myself largely abroad. A friend of mine, an honorable member of this House, hereupon read to the Court an extract of a letter he had received from me upon that subject. Before the question was ballotted for, he printed this letter in handbills, and also published it repeatedly in all the News Papers. I have one of them, which was printed at that time, now in my hand, and with permission will read it.

“ THAT his Lordship has been adding to his fortune a-
 “ broad is most untrue: his friends defy the bitterest of his
 “ enemies to support the charge. A solemn asseveration in
 “ that respect from Lord CLIVE himself, was read in Court,
 “ by the friend to whom Lord CLIVE had addressed his let-
 “ ter; and it is now submitted to print, in order to discredit
 “ assertions which are false; or else to remain in public tes-
 “ timony against his Lordship.”

*Extract of a Letter from Lord CLIVE, dated Calcutta, 30th
 September, 1765.*

“ THAT you may assert with confidence the justice of my
 “ cause, I do declare, by the God who made me, it is my
 “ absolute determination to refuse every present of consequence,

“ and that I will not return to ENGLAND with one Rupee
 “ more than what arises from my Jaghire. My profits arising from Salt shall be divided among those friends who
 “ have endangered their lives and constitutions in attending
 “ me. The congratulatory Nuzirs, &c. shall be set opposite
 “ to my extraordinary expences; and if aught remains, it
 “ shall go to POPLAR or some other Hospital.”

IN Mr. BOLTS's book is a copy of a Bond, by which it appears that I sold my concern in Salt, for thirty-two thousand pounds. I do acknowledge there is such a Bond, but the sum actually received by me, on that account, amounted only to about ten thousand eight hundred pounds. The fact was this: I could not think of suffering the three before-mentioned Gentlemen, who accompanied me to INDIA, to return to ENGLAND without realizing something on their account; I said so to my friends in BENGAL. The Salt Concern was of a very extensive tedious nature, and the accounts might not be made up in some years. Could I, in honor, leave those Gentlemen in a situation which made it doubtful when they should receive any thing, and to what amount? I told them I would not: I told them I would get rid of this Salt Concern at once, that they might be secure of the money amongst them. I therefore disposed of my whole Concern in Salt, even my share for the second year, which was just commenced, for the sum mentioned in the Bond. But when the mode of a Commission of one and one eighth *per Cent.* on the Revenues, was settled for the Governor, in lieu of every other emolument; I then relinquished my share in Salt for that year (the second year) in which I was to receive

receive the Commission, and paid back about twenty thousand pounds of the thirty-two thousand.

It now remains, Sir, for me to shew, that my own interest was not the motive of my going to India.

I have here an account of every six-pence I received or disbursed, from the day of my leaving ENGLAND to the day of my return. It is taken from my books, which were kept all the time I was in INDIA by Mr. VERELST, who will readily attest their accuracy. I omit the first part of this account, because it was transmitted to the Court of Directors, and stands upon record in the INDIA HOUSE. The other part I will read. The House will observe, that in this account there are the names of others whom I rewarded, besides the Gentlemen I have mentioned. One was an old servant who went out with me; and the others were young Gentlemen in my Secretary's Office.

Amount

Amount received subsequent to the making
up of the Account before mentioned, trans-
mitted to the Court of Directors, viz.

Company's Allowances for January
Governor's Duties

l.	s.	d.
482	2	10
359	16	9

l.	s.	d.
841	19	7

Amount received for Profits on Salt, viz.

Sold to the following Gentlemen,

	l.	s.	d.
Mr. Verell	7714	5	8
Mr. Sykes	7714	5	8
Mr. Campbell	7714	5	8
Mr. Ruffel	3857	2	10
Mr. Kelfall	3857	2	10

l.	s.	d.
30857	2	8

Deduct the Amount refunded,
in the Proportions above
specified, upon relinquish-
ing all Concern in the Salt
Trade for the second Year

l.	s.	d.
19012	10	0

Interest paid thereon

l.	s.	d.
974	7	9

l.	s.	d.
19986	17	9

l.	s.	d.
10870	4	11

Amount received for Commission on the
Duanee Revenues

l.	s.	d.
30866	10	5

Balance

l.	s.	d.
42578	14	11

l.	s.	d.
5816	16	9

l.	s.	d.
48395	11	8

Amount paid subsequent to the making up of the Account before mentioned, transmitted to the Court of Directors, viz.

		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Account Salaries	—	208	19	7			
Charges General	—	1325	9	2			
Table Expences	—	1087	6	4			
Wearing Apparel	—	103	19	5			
					2795	14	6
Amount of Expences paid in England	—				1846	5	7
HENRY STRACHEY, Esq;							
		l.	s.	d.			
Transferred to him the Amount							
of Mr. Sykes's Bond	—	7714	5	8			
Interest thereon	—	471	8	6			
					8185	14	2
A Proportion of Mr. Kelfall's Bond with							
Interest	—	1274	13	5			
The Amount of a Bill on Attornies in							
England	—	2892	17	1			
A Proportion of the Commission on the							
Revenues	—	3589	12	3			
					15942	16	11
EDMUND MASKELYNE, Esq;							
Transferred to him the Amount							
of Mr Verelst's Bond	—	7714	5	8			
Interest thereon	—	471	8	6			
					8185	14	2
The Amount of Mr. Ruf-							
fel's Bond	—	3857	2	10			
Interest thereon	—	235	14	3			
					4092	17	1
A Proportion of Mr. Kelfall's Bond with							
Interest	—	771	8	6			
					13049	19	9
SAMUEL INGHAM, Esq;							
Transferred to him the Amount							
of Mr. Campbell's Bond	—	7714	5	8			
Interest thereon	—	471	8	6			
					8185	14	2
A Proportion of Commission on the Re-							
venues	—	976	5	8			
					9161	19	10
Mr. PHILPOT.							
Transferred to him the Remain-							
der of Mr. Kelfall's Bond	—	1928	9	6			
Interest thereon	—	118	5	7			
					2046	15	1
Presented to him an additional Sum					150	0	0
					2196	15	1
Mess. WYNNE, ARCHDEKIN, COXE, and							
DUCAREL.							
Transferred to them a Proportion of Commis-							
sion on the Revenues	—				3402	0	0
					48305	11	8

THE balance against me, upon the whole, is five thousand eight hundred and sixteen pounds. Now Sir, I have no objection to having this account lodged among the Records of this House, that it may stand in judgment for or against me, if future Commissioners, either on the part of the CROWN or the EAST INDIA COMPANY should ever think a retrospection into my conduct necessary.

THERE is only one circumstance more with which I shall trouble the House; and I do assure them, I should be ashamed to touch upon it, as it may carry with it an appearance of vanity, were not my honor and reputation so much at stake. It was in my power to have taken from my enemies every shadow of pretence for arraigning my conduct, on account of these profits, as they have been called, of my government. I could have rewarded those Gentlemen much more liberally, without the possibility of an accusation. But I should not have acted so much to my own satisfaction, nor I believe so much to that of the House; if I had neglected the opportunity that offered, of doing something essentially beneficial to the EAST INDIA COMPANY's service.

THE old Nabob MEER JAFFIER, if ever Mussulman had a friendship for a Christian, had a friendship for me. When the news of my appointment to the Government reached BENGAL; he immediately quitted MUXADAVAD, came down to CALCUTTA; impatiently waited my arrival for six weeks; fell ill; returned to his capital and died. Two or three days before his death, in the presence of his wife, and in the presence

presence of his minister, he said to his son and successor, whatever you may think proper to give to Lord CLIVE on your own account the means are in your power. But, as a testimony of my affection for him, I desire you will pay to him as a legacy from me five lacks of Rupees. I must observe that the Nabob's death happened whilst I was on my voyage, and some months before my arrival in BEN-GAL. The principal and interest amounted to near seventy thousand pounds. A very respectable Gentleman and great Lawyer, who is now the Speaker of this honourable House, gave his opinion in favor of my right to this legacy, in the strongest terms: another great Lawyer, a Member of this House, has often declared to me in private, his opinion of my right; and the Court of Directors have themselves confirmed that right. Authentic attestations of this legacy are upon record in the INDIA HOUSE. The whole of the money added to about forty thousand pounds more, which I prevailed on the Nabob to bestow, is established for a Military Fund, in support of Officers and Soldiers who may be invalided in any part of INDIA, and also in support of their Widows. Nothing was wanting but such an Establishment as this, to make the EAST INDIA COMPANY'S Military Service the best Service in the world. Before that period, an indigent, invalided Officer and Soldier might live in INDIA: but if he returned to his native Country, he returned to beggary. By this fund the Officers are intitled to Half-pay. The Soldiers are upon the same footing as those in CHELSEA HOSPITAL; and the Widows of both Officers and Soldiers have Pensions.

HAVING encroached so long upon the patience of the House, I doubt whether I may now expect their farther indulgence, or whether I must defer what I have to say upon the important business 'till a future occasion.

(HOUSE, *Go on, go on.*)

BUT before I proceed, I must beg leave to deviate a little into a digression, on behalf of the Company's servants in general. It is dictated by humanity, by justice, and by truth.

INDOSTAN was always an absolute despotic Government. The inhabitants, especially of BENGAL, in inferior stations, are servile, mean, submissive and humble. In superior stations, they are luxurious, effeminate, tyrannical, treacherous, venal, cruel. The Country of BENGAL is called, by way of distinction, the Paradise of the Earth. It not only abounds with the necessaries of life to such a degree, as to furnish a great part of INDIA with its superfluity, but it abounds in very curious and valuable manufactures, sufficient not only for its own use, but for the use of the whole Globe. The Silver of the West and the Gold of the East have for many years been pouring into that Country, and Goods only have been sent out in return. This has added to the luxury and extravagance of BENGAL.

FROM time immemorial it has been the custom of that Country, for an inferior never to come into the presence of a superior without a Present. It begins at the Nabob, and
ends

ends at the lowest man that has an inferior. The Nabob has told me, that the small Presents he received amounted to three hundred thousand pounds a year; and I can believe him: because I know that I might have received as much during my last Government. The Company's servants have ever been accustomed to receive Presents. Even before we took part in the Country troubles, when our possessions were very confined and limited, the Governor and others used to receive Presents; and I will take upon me to assert, that there has not been an Officer commanding his Majesty's Fleet, nor an Officer commanding his Majesty's Army; not a Governor, not a Member of Council, not any other Person, civil or military, in such a station as to have connection with the Country Government, who has not received Presents. With regard to BENGAL, there they flow in abundance indeed. Let the House figure to itself a Country consisting of fifteen millions of inhabitants, a Revenue of four millions Sterling, and a Trade in proportion. By progressive steps the Company have become Sovereigns of that Empire. Can it be supposed that their servants will refrain from advantages so obviously resulting from their situation? The Company's servants, however, have not been the authors of those acts of violence and oppression, of which it is the fashion to accuse them. Such crimes are committed by the natives of the Country, acting as their Agents, and for the most part without their knowledge. Those Agents and the Banyans never desist, till, according to the ministerial phrase, they have dragged their Masters into the kennel; and then the acts of violence begin. The passion for Gain is as strong as the passion of Love. I will suppose, that two intimate friends have

lived long together; that one of them has married a beautiful woman; that the friend still continues to live in the House, and that this beautiful woman, forgetting her duty to her husband, attempts to seduce the friend; who, though in the vigor of his youth, may, from a high principle of honor, at first, resist the temptation, and even rebuke the lady. But if he still continues to live under the same roof, and she still continues to throw out her allurements, he must be seduced at last, or fly. Now the Banyan is the fair lady to the Company's servant. He lays his bags of silver before him to-day; Gold to-morrow; Jewels the next day; and, if these fail, he then tempts him in the way of his profession, which is Trade. He assures him that Goods may be had cheap, and sold to great advantage up the Country. In this manner is the attack carried on; and the Company's servant has no resource, for he cannot fly. In short, flesh and blood cannot bear it. Let us for a moment consider the nature of the education of a young man who goes to INDIA. The advantages arising from the Company's service are now very generally known; and the great object of every man is to get his son appointed a writer to BENGAL; which is usually at the age of sixteen. His parents and relations represent to him how certain he is of making a fortune; that my Lord such a one, and my Lord such a one, acquired so much money in such a time; and Mr. such a one, and Mr. such a one, so much in such a time. Thus are their principles corrupted at their very setting out, and as they generally go a good many together, they inflame one another's expectations to such a degree, in the course of the voyage, that

that they fix upon a period for their return before their arrival.

LET us now take a view of one of these writers arrived in BENGAL, and not worth a groat. As soon as he lands, a Banyan, worth perhaps one hundred thousand pounds, desires he may have the honor of serving this young Gentleman, at four shillings and six-pence *per* month. The Company has provided chambers for him, but they are not good enough; the Banyan finds better. The young man takes a walk about the town, he observes that other writers, arrived only a year before him, live in splendid apartments or have houses of their own, ride upon fine prancing Arabian Horses, and in Palanqueens and Chaises; that they keep Seraglios, make Entertainments, and treat with Champagne and Claret. When he returns, he tells the Banyan what he has observed. The Banyan assures him he may soon arrive at the same good fortune; he furnishes him with money; he is then at his mercy. The advantages of the Banyan, advance with the rank of his master, who in acquiring one fortune generally spends three. But this is not the worst of it: he is in a state of dependence under the Banyan, who commits such acts of violence and oppression, as his interest prompts him to, under the pretended sanction and authority of the Company's servant. Hence, Sir, arises the clamor against the ENGLISH Gentlemen in INDIA. But look at them in a retired situation, when returned to ENGLAND, when they are no longer Nabobs and Sovereigns of the East: see if there be any thing tyrannical in their disposition towards their inferiors: see if they are not good and humane masters: are they

they not charitable? Are they not benevolent? Are they not generous? Are they not hospitable? If they are thus far not contemptible members of Society, and if in all their dealings between man and man, their conduct is strictly honorable: if, in short, there has not yet been one character found amongst them sufficiently flagitious for Mr. Foote to exhibit on the Theatre in the Haymarket, may we not conclude, that if they have erred, it has been because they were men, placed in situations, subject to little or no controul?

BUT if the servants of the Company are to be loaded with the demerit of every misfortune in INDIA, let them also have the merit they are intitled to. The Court of Directors surely will not claim to themselves, the merit of those advantages which the Nation and the Company are at present in possession of. The Officers of the Navy and Army have had great share in the execution; but the Company's servants were the Cabinet Council, who planned every thing; and to them also may be ascribed, some part of the merit of our great acquisitions.

I will now pass to other matter: matter as important as ever came before this House. INDIA yields at present a clear produce to the public and to individuals, of between two and three millions, Sterling, *per Annum*. If this object should be lost, what can Administration substitute in the room of it? I tremble when I think of the risque we lately run, from the ambitious designs of the FRENCH. They may have suspended for a time, their views upon INDIA, but I am sure they

they have not given them up. It is strongly reported they have at this moment, ten thousand men at the Islands, and a great number of Transports: these men are not to return to FRANCE, and yet the Islands cannot maintain them: but at MADAGASCAR they may possess themselves of a Country capable of supporting any number. This they certainly will do, and their forces instead of decreasing will increase by additional battalions, poured out from FRANCE, until they are ready to carry into execution their favourite design. The noble Lord at the Head of the Treasury, will do me the justice to say that I laid before him a paper, drawn up fifteen months ago, in which I stated almost every thing that has since happened, relating to the views of FRANCE upon the EAST INDIES. It was indeed impossible for me to be deceived, knowing the preparations that had been made.

IF ever FRANCE should lay hold of our possessions, she will soon add to them all the rest of the EAST INDIES. The other EUROPEAN Nations there, will immediately fall before her; not even the DUTCH can stand: the Empire of the Sea will follow: thus will her acquisitions in the East, if any can, give her universal Monarchy. I repeat, and I would have what I say remembered, that the FRENCH have not given up their designs upon INDIA.

BUT danger abroad being for the present suspended, let us think of the danger at home.

IT is certain that our affairs in BENGAL are in a very deplorable condition, and that the Nation cannot receive their
four

four hundred thousand pounds, and the Proprietors their two hundred thousand pounds increase of dividend much longer, if something be not done.

It is necessary, since these affairs are brought before Parliament, that we should endeavour to understand them. There are a few material points, which I will state as clearly as I can. The Revenues; the Inland Trade; the Charges, Civil and Military; and the Public Trade, by which I mean the Trade of the Company.

UPON the receipt of the Revenues depend the four hundred thousand pounds a year to Government, and the two hundred thousand pounds a year additional dividend to the Proprietors: and upon the Company's or Public Trade depends the coming home of the Revenues. There are no mines of Gold or Silver in BENGAL, therefore the Revenues can be brought hither only through the medium of the Company's Trade.

UPON the Civil and Military Expences depends, whether we shall have any surplus Revenue at all; for if they are swelled up too high you can receive no Revenues. Upon the Inland Trade depends in some degree, the receipt of the Revenues. Upon the Inland Trade depend almost totally the happiness and prosperity of the People. Indeed the true cause of the distress in BENGAL, as far as it relates to the Inland Trade, is this. The Company's servants and their agents, have taken into their own hands the whole of that Trade, which they have carried on in a capacity before unknown;
for

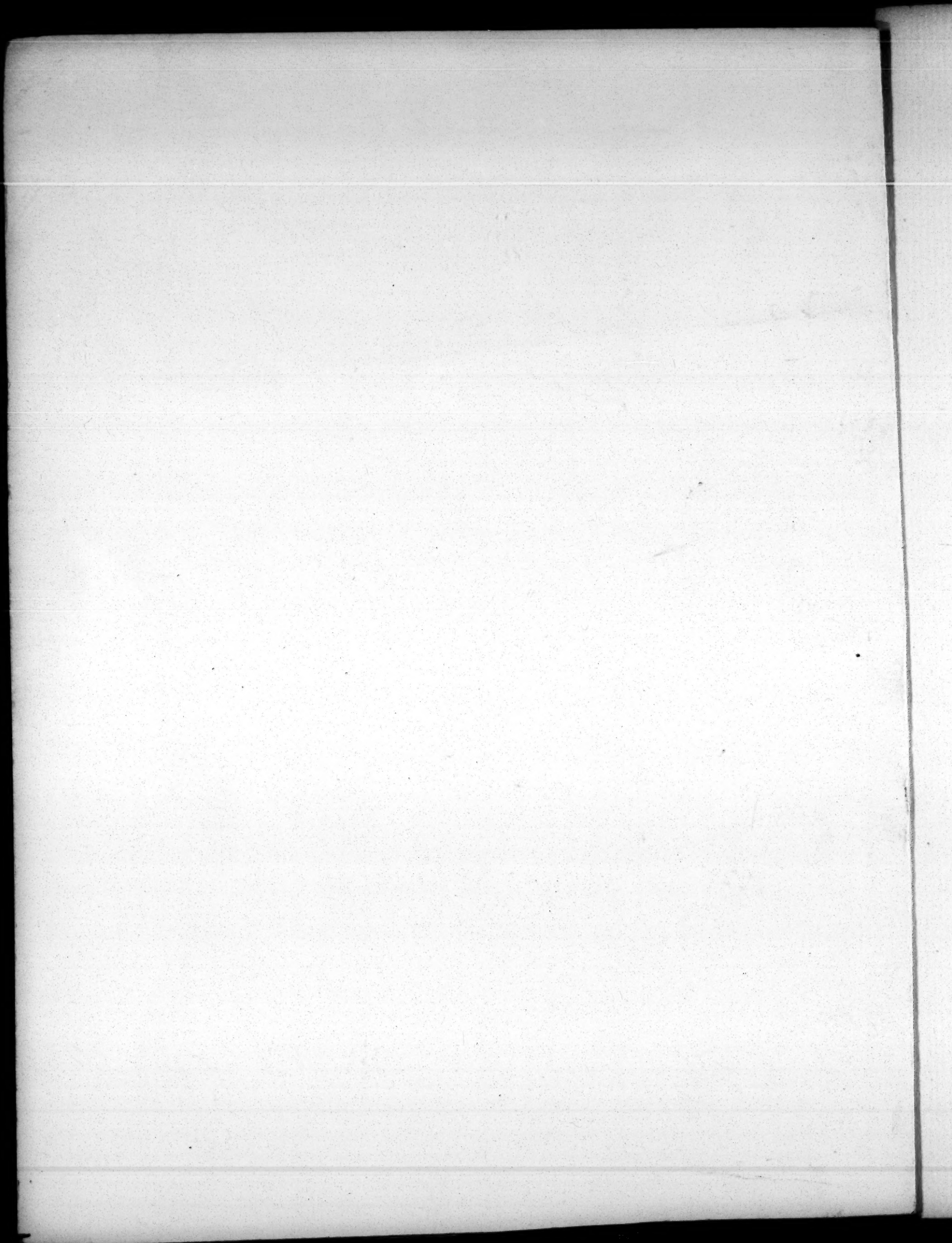
for they have traded not only as Merchants, but as Sovereigns, and by grasping at the whole of the Inland Trade, have taken the bread out of the mouths of thousands and thousands of Merchants, who used formerly to carry on that Trade, and who are now reduced to beggary.

With regard to the Public Trade, it is material to observe what that has been, and what it now is. Here is an account of the prime costs of the Company's Investments from BEN-GAL, for seven years preceding the acquisition of the DUAN-NEE, and for seven years subsequent, together with the number of Ships employed.

The Seven Years Preceding 1763.		Comparative	
Prime Costs	Number of Ships	Prime Costs	Number of Ships
1757	1	1763	1
1758	1	1764	1
1759	1	1765	1
1760	1	1766	1
1761	1	1767	1
1762	1	1768	1
1763	1	1769	1
1764	1	1770	1
1765	1	1771	1
1766	1	1772	1
1767	1	1773	1
1768	1	1774	1
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1784	1	1790	1
1785	1	1791	1
1786	1	1792	1
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1788	1	1794	1
1789	1	1795	1
1790	1	1796	1
1791	1	1797	1
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1793	1	1799	1
1794	1	1800	1
1795	1	1801	1
1796	1	1802	1
1797	1	1803	1
1798	1	1804	1
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1800	1	1806	1
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1802	1	1808	1
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1811	1	1817	1
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2089	1	2095	1
2090	1	2096	1
2091	1	2097	1
2092	1	2098	1
2093	1	2099	1
2094	1	2100	1
2095	1	2101	1
2096	1	2102	

**Comparative View of the Number of SHIPS from BENGAL,
with the Amount of their CARGOES, for seven Years
preceding and seven Years succeeding the Acquisition of
the DUANNEE, in 1765.**

The seven preceding Years.				The seven succeeding Years.			
			£.				£.
1758	—	3 Ships	138,000	1765	—	5 Ships	437,511
1759	—	4 —	144,000	1766	—	6 —	565,461
1760	—	4 —	292,931	1767	—	6 —	658,341
1761	—	5 —	356,850	1768	—	8 —	742,288
1762	—	6 —	395,550	1769	—	7 —	633,665
1763	—	3 —	320,077	1770	—	7 —	705,700
1764	—	3 —	276,772	1771	—	7 —	768,500
		28	1,924,180				
		Increase 18	2,587,286				
		46	4,511,466			46	4,511,466



By this Paper, it appears that the Public Trade has increased more than double, since the Acquisition of the DUANNER.

I now come to a very material point indeed. A State of the Revenues, and also of the Civil and Military, and all other Expences from the year 1765 to 1771. The first year's Account is imperfect, because the Revenues are stated from the month of April, and the DUANNER was not obtained till August.

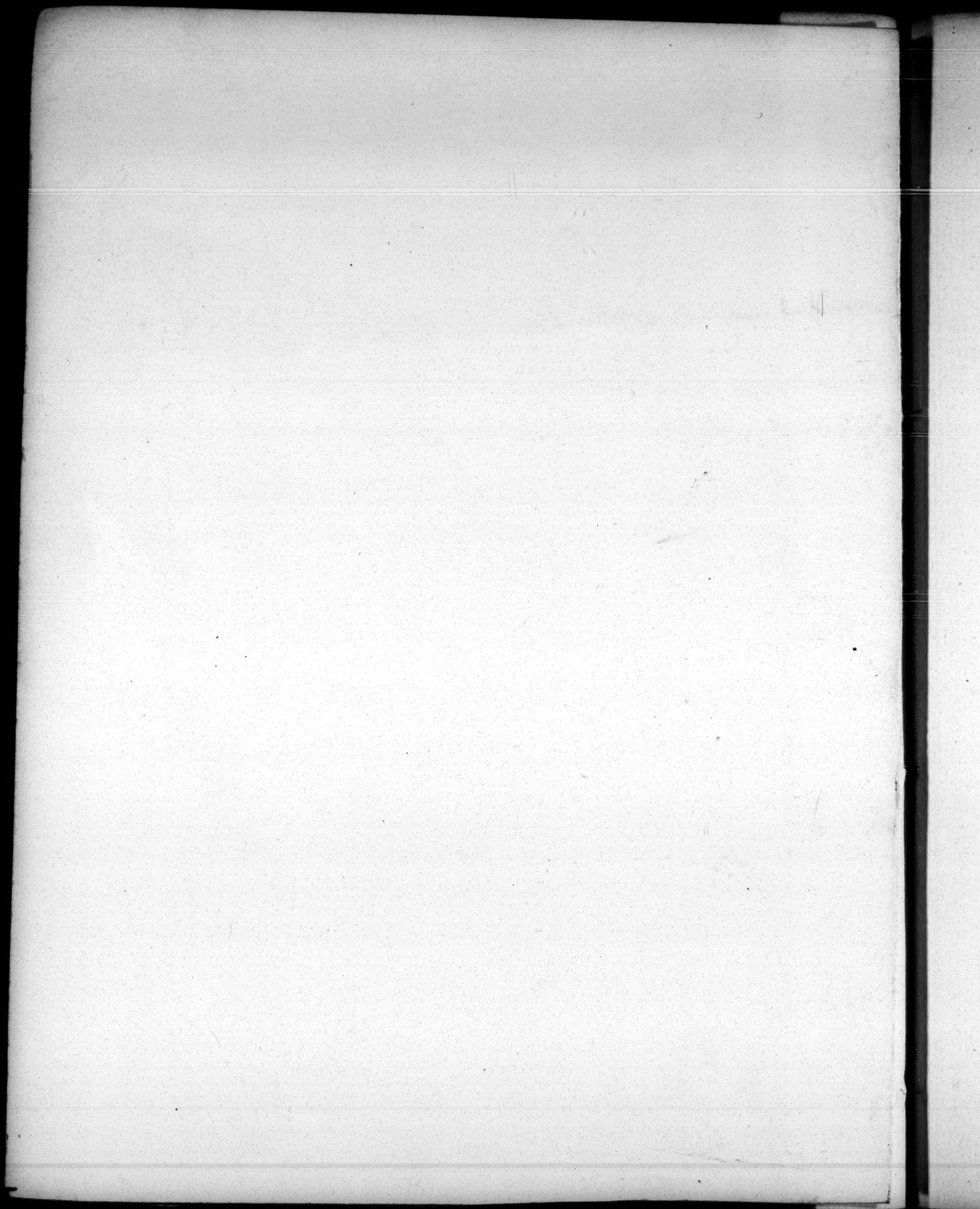
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Amount

Amount of the REVENUES and CHARGES,

Shewing the Nett Receipts and the Nett Income for six Years, from May 1765 to April 1771.

	Gross Collections.	Charges of collecting Tribute Stipend.	Nett Revenues.	Civil Charges.	Military Charges.	Buildings and Fortifications.	Total Amount of Charges, Civil, Milit. and Buildings, &c.	Total Charges, including Tribute, &c.	Nett Income.
One Year	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
From May 1765 to April 1766,	2,264,763	611,890	1,652,873	211,398	612,009	87,223	910,630	1,522,520	742,243
May 1766 to April 1767,	3,861,141	1,273,755	2,587,386	307,484	861,174	105,544	1,274,202	2,547,957	1,313,184
May 1767 to April 1768,	3,613,171	1,255,673	2,357,498	303,231	868,177	219,285	1,390,693	2,646,366	966,805
May 1768 to April 1769,	3,786,795	1,296,739	2,490,056	422,250	1,022,393	270,873	1,715,516	3,012,255	774,540
May 1769 to April 1770,	3,430,210	1,209,366	2,220,844	391,906	1,044,631	193,353	1,629,890	2,839,256	590,954
May 1770 to April 1771,	3,148,960	1,209,366	1,939,594				1,766,250	2,975,616	173,344
	20,105,040	6,856,789	13,248,251	1,636,269	4,408,384	876,278	8,687,181	15,543,970	4,561,070



THIS Account must be exact, because I had the whole of it from the INDIA HOUSE, except the particulars of the last year, which the Court of Directors are not yet in possession of. But I cannot doubt their authenticity, as I received them from a Gentleman in Council at BENGAL.

THE House will observe, that the Gross Collections have not decreased considerably till the year 1770, which was the year of the Famine; but that the Civil and Military Expences have been gradually increasing ever since I left BENGAL, which was in the beginning of the year 1767. And here lies the danger. The evil is not so much in the Revenues falling short, as in the Expences increasing. The best means of raising the Revenues is to reduce the Civil and Military Charges. Why should we strive at an actual increase of the Revenues? They avail nothing unless we can invest them; and to raise them beyond a certain point is to distress the country, and to reduce to indigence, numbers who from time immemorial have derived their subsistence from them.

WITH regard to the increase of the expences, I take the case to stand thus. Before the Company became possessed of the DUANNEE, their Agents had other ways of making fortunes. Presents were open to them. They are now at an end. It was expedient for them to find some other channel: the channel of the Civil and Military Charges. Every man now who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune.

It

It is not the simple pay of Officers and Men upon the Military and Civil Establishment which occasions our enormous Expence, but the contingent Bills of Contractors, Commissaries, Engineers, &c. out of which, I am sure, great savings might be made. These intolerable expences have alarmed the Directors, and persuaded them to come to Parliament for assistance. And, if I mistake not, they will soon go to Administration, and tell them they cannot pay the four hundred thousand pounds; and that they must lower the Dividend to the Proprietors.

I attribute the present situation of our Affairs to four Causes: a Relaxation of Government in my Successors; great Neglect on the part of Administration; notorious Misconduct on the part of the Directors; and the violent and outrageous Proceedings of General Courts, in which I include contested Elections.

Mr. VERELST, who succeeded me in the Government, I do believe to be a man of as much real worth and honor as ever existed: and so far from being wanting in humanity, as Mr. BOLTS asserts; I know that he had too much humanity. Humanity, if I may be allowed the expression, has been his ruin. If he had less, it would have been better for the Nation, better for the Company, better for the Natives, and better for himself. No Man came to the Government with a fairer Character, and notwithstanding what I have said, I am conscious no man ever left it with a fairer. He acted upon principles of disinterestedness from beginning to end: and let the

the Directors if they can, tell me where I could have laid my finger upon a fitter Man. But the truth is, he governed with too lenient a hand. The too great tenderness of his disposition I saw and dreaded. Nothing was wanting on my part to prompt him to pursue vigorous measures. Nor did I confine myself to verbal advice only. I gave it in writing before I resigned the Government. The House will permit me to read to them my sentiments upon that occasion. They are contained in my Farewell Letter to the Select Committee, wherein I forewarned them of almost every misfortune that has since happened. The whole is too long to trouble the House with. I shall therefore read only that part of it which relates to the present subject.

*Extract from my Farewell Letter to the Select Committee,
dated 16th January, 1767.*

“ The reformation proposed by the Committee of Inspection, will I hope be duly attended to. It has been too much the custom in this Government to make orders and regulations, and thence to suppose the business done. To what end and purpose are they made, if they be not promulgated and enforced? No regulation can be carried into execution, no order obeyed, if you do not make rigorous examples of the disobedient. Upon this point I rest the welfare of the Company in BENGAL. The servants are now brought to a proper sense of their duty; if you slacken the reins of Government, affairs will soon revert to their former channel; anarchy and corruption will
“ again

" again prevail; and, elate with a new victory, be too head-
 " strong for any future efforts of Government. Recall to
 " your memories the many attempts that have been made
 " in the Civil and Military Departments, to overcome our au-
 " thority, and to set up a kind of independency against the
 " Court of Directors. Reflect also on the resolute measures
 " we have pursued, and their wholesome effects. Disobe-
 " dience to legal power is the first step of sedition; and pal-
 " liative remedies effect no cure. Every tender compliance,
 " every condescension on your parts, will only encourage more
 " flagrant attacks; which will daily increase in strength, and
 " be at last in vain resisted. Much of our time has been
 " employed in correcting abuses. The important work has
 " been prosecuted with zeal, diligence and disinterestedness;
 " and we have had the happiness to see our labors crowned
 " with success. I leave the Country in peace: I leave the
 " Civil and Military Departments under discipline and sub-
 " ordination: it is incumbent upon you to keep them so.
 " You have power, you have abilities, you have integrity;
 " let it not be said that you are deficient in resolution. I
 " repeat that you must not fail to exact the most implicit
 " obedience to your orders. Dismiss or suspend from the
 " service, any man who shall dare to dispute your authority.
 " If you deviate from the principles upon which we have
 " hitherto acted, and upon which you are conscious you
 " ought to proceed; or if you do not make a proper use of
 " that power, with which you are invested; I shall hold
 " myself acquitted, as I do now protest against the conse-
 " quences."

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It is certain, that if my successor had followed my example and advice, the evil day would have been kept off some time longer. But had he kept the tightest rein, he could not have done much service to the Company: for neither he nor any man could have long guarded against the mischiefs occasioned by the Directors themselves, when they took away the powers of the Select Committee.

THE Company had acquired an empire more extensive than any Kingdom in EUROPE, FRANCE and RUSSIA excepted. They had acquired a Revenue of four millions Sterling, and a Trade in proportion. It was natural to suppose that such an object would have merited the most serious attention of Administration; that in concert with the Court of Directors they would have considered the nature of the Company's Charter, and have adopted a Plan adequate to such possessions. Did they take it into consideration? No, they did not. They treated it rather as a South Sea Bubble, than as any thing solid and substantial: they thought of nothing but the present time, regardless of the future: they said, let us get what we can to day, let to morrow take care for itself: they thought of nothing but the immediate division of the loaves and fishes: nay, so anxious were they to lay their hands upon some immediate advantage, that they actually went so far as to influence a parcel of temporary Proprietors to bully the Directors into their terms. It was their duty, Sir, to have called upon the Directors for a Plan; and if a Plan,

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in consequence, had not been laid before them, it would then have become their duty, with the aid and assistance of Parliament, to have formed one themselves. If Administration had done their duty, we should not now have heard a Speech from the Throne, intimating the necessity of parliamentary interposition, to save our possessions in INDIA from impending ruin.

THE next point is, the misconduct on the part of the Court of Directors.

AFTER the Court of Directors had, in the highest terms, approved of the conduct of that Committee, who restored tranquility to BENGAL; who had restored a Government of anarchy and confusion, to good order; who had made a Peace with SUJA DOWLA, by which they obtained upwards of six hundred thousand pounds for the Company; who had quelled both a Civil and a Military Mutiny; who had re-established Discipline and Subordination in the Army; who had obtained the DUANNEE of BENGAL, BAHAR, and ORISSA; which produced to the Company a nett income of one million three hundred thousand pounds; who had paid off the greatest part of a Bond Debt in BENGAL, amounting to near nine hundred thousand pounds; who had left the Treasury in such a flowing state, that they drew few or no bills upon the Company at home; who laid the foundation of Investments so large as were never before known or heard of; and who had by these means enabled the Company to assist

Government

Government with four hundred thousand pounds a year, and to make an increase of Dividend to the Stock-holders of two hundred thousand pounds; one would imagine that the Court of Directors would have supported a system of Government which had been so very successful. But they acted upon very different principles; they dropped the prosecutions against those Gentlemen in BENGAL, whose conduct the Committee had censured, and fully represented. Thus they gave a stab to their own vitals. From that instant they destroyed their own power abroad, and erased from the minds of their servants in INDIA, every wholesome regulation which the Committee had established. The servants abroad were in anxious suspense to learn whether they were punishable or not, for misconduct. The lenity or weakness of the Court of Directors removed their doubts. From that instant all Covenants were forgotten, or only looked upon as so many sheets of blank paper; and from that instant began that relaxation of Government so much now complained of, and so much still to be dreaded.

THEIR next step was to destroy the Powers of that Committee whose conduct they had with reason so highly approved of. They divided the Powers; they gave half to the Council, and left the other half with the Committee. The consequence was, the Council and Committee became distracted by altercations and disputes for Power, and have ever since been at variance, to the great detriment of the service. The Court of Directors, as if this was not enough, restored to

the service almost every Civil and Military Transgressor who had been dismissed: nay they rewarded some of them, by allowing them a continuation of their rank all the time they were in ENGLAND. And now, as a condemnation of their own conduct, and a tacit confession of their own weakness, they come to Parliament with a Bill of Regulations, in which is inserted a Clause to put such Practices, as much as possible, out of their Power for the future.

WITH regard to General Courts; I believe I need not dwell long on the Consequences of them. Their violent Proceedings have been subversive of the Authority of the Court of Directors. The Agents abroad have known this: they have therefore never scrupled to set the orders of the Court of Directors at defiance, when it was their interest to disobey them; and they have escaped punishment, by means of the over-awing interest of individuals at General Courts. Thus have General Courts co-operated with the Court of Directors in the mischiefs that have arisen in BENGAL; whilst annual contested Elections have, in a manner, deprived the Directors of the power of establishing any authority over their servants. The first half of the year is employed in freeing themselves from the obligations contracted by their last Election; and the second half is wasted in incurring new obligations, and securing their Election for the next year, by daily sacrifices of some interest of the Company. The Direction, notwithstanding all these manoeuvres, has been so fluctuating and unsettled, that new and contradictory orders have

have been frequently sent out; and the servants (who to say the truth have generally understood the interest of the Company much better than the Directors) have in many instances followed their own opinion, in opposition to theirs.

It is not my intention, at present, to trouble the House with the Remedies for these evils. I rather chuse to defer them till the Bill comes into the House. I have now opened my Budget: it is not a ministerial Budget: it is an EAST INDIA Budget; which contains many precious Stones, Diamonds, Rubies, &c. of the first Water and Magnitude: and there wants only a skilful Jeweller, and able Artist, to polish them and ascertain their real Value.

T H E E N D.

have been frequently let out; and the farmers (who to say the least have generally understood the interests of the County) have much more than the Directors have in many instances followed their own opinion, in opposition to theirs.



It is not my intention to trouble the House with the Committee for the Bill, I have now opened my Budget: it is not a magnificent Budget: it is an honest Budget, which contains many precious stones, diamonds, rubies, &c. of the first Water and Magnitude: and there wants only a skillful Jeweller, and a little Acid, to polish them and ascertain their real Value.

